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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-92-080  
Friday  
24 April 1992

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-080

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24 April 1992

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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### **Minister on SADCC Drought Relief 'Task Force'**

MB2304132692 Mbabane THE TIMES OF  
SWAZILAND in English 23 Apr 92 p 24

[Report by Bhukumusa Mkwana: "Task Force for Drought Relief"]

[Text] A Task Force, which comprises of senior government representatives from the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] countries has been established, to deal with obtaining and transporting food to the drought stricken region.

Its sole purpose is to devise some strategies for addressing the drought and food shortages resulting from the current drought spell sweeping the region.

The Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives, Mr Themba Masuku disclosed this at the ministry's offices yesterday.

He said in a meeting held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in April 15 to 16, the 10 member countries of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) resolved to co-ordinate information and activities regarding the needs of individual countries.

"The Task Force will determine how the sea, air, road, and rail can be used co-ordinatively for transporting food needs from sources to consumers," he said.

The 10 countries are: Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

He said corridor groups were also established which will facilitate movement of all the available transport ways.

He explained that the countries needed absolute co-ordination on the transportation of food because all the transport linkages will be fully utilised with all the countries receiving supplies from overseas donors.

The meeting in Harare was attended by the Ministers for Agriculture and Transport, Messrs Masuku and Albert Shabangu, their Principal Secretaries, Messrs Richard Tshabalala, and Frank Buckham, and other top ranking officials from both ministries.

Another conference has been scheduled for April 29, where the Task Force will be meeting with donors to formally discuss their problems. This meeting will also take place in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare.

### **Consensus Reached With SADCC on Grain Import**

MB2304072092 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] South Africa and five of the Southern African Development and Coordinating Conference [SADCC]

countries have reached consensus on a joint project to import grain for the drought stricken areas of the sub-continent.

This agreement was reached at a historic meeting in Pretoria. It's the first time that South Africa and SADCC, which was established by countries to the north of South Africa to give them greater economic independence from this country, have agreed to work together. The deputy director general of foreign affairs for Africa, Mr. Derek Auret, who chaired the meeting said the delegates at the talks had agreed to form a working group of all the parties that attended the talks. Mr. Auret said the working group will work with Transnet [public transportation company] in coordinating imports of between 8-10 million tonnes of maize. He said the cooperation agreement was an important breakthrough for the region.

Zimbabwe, which didn't want to attend the meeting if South Africa did, said through its minister of transport, Dr. (S.B.M. Marumi) [name and title as heard], that it had no choice but to cooperate with South Africa in the project because South Africa's geographical position made exclusion impossible. He said he was pleased that consensus had been reached.

Dr. (Marumi) said his country had a food shortage of about 1.5 million tonnes of maize.

### **SATUCC Moves Headquarters to Zambia**

MB2204124192 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Lusaka April 22 SAPA—The Southern African Trade Unions Co-ordinating Council (SATUCC) has moved its headquarters from Malawi to Zambia after six staff members were detained by the Malawian Government.

The detainees include leading Malawian pro-democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana.

SATUCC President Jackson Shamenda said the council had engaged lawyers to defend Mr Chihana and the five SATUCC staff members.

A five-member delegation from Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Lesotho and led by Mr Shamenda leaves for Malawi next week to seek Mr Chihana's release.

"In the meantime we have decided to open a sub-regional office in Kitwe (Zambia) to carry out the affairs of SATUCC," he said.

Mr Shamenda also said his team would be meeting the Malawi high commissioner, Dr Bernard Chitsamba, in Lusaka.

"The SATUCC belongs to this region and has got the right to operate in this region. There is a social charter, hence the right to operate in Malawi," Mr Shamenda said.



**Gabon****National Assembly Session Begins 21 Apr***AB2304114092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Excerpt] The first ordinary session of the National Assembly began in Libreville, the Gabonese capital, yesterday. This session is expected to deliberate seriously on Gabon's national education system, notably, the adoption or otherwise of a special status for teachers. Teachers have been on strike since 27 January but some of them feebly resumed classes on their own accord, especially last week, without waiting for an order from the National Education Teachers Union, SEENA, which initiated this strike action. SEENA finally called for the resumption of classes at a news conference in Libreville yesterday. [passage omitted]

**Opposition Party Nominates Presidential Candidate***AB2304115892 Paris AFP in French 1243 GMT  
21 Apr 92*

[Text] Libreville, 21 Apr (AFP)—At its first congress held in Libreville over the weekend, the (opposition) Social Democrat Party (PSD) nominated its leader, Pierre Claver Maganga-Moussavou, as its candidate for the 1993 presidential elections, the GABONESE PRESS AGENCY (AGP) reported today. The PSD, a member of the Democratic Opposition Coordination (COD), is represented at the National Assembly by one deputy.

Mr. Maganga-Moussavou is the first candidate to be officially nominated by a political party for the upcoming presidential elections. Mr. Maganga-Moussavou told newsmen afterward that his nomination came at the right time since "the Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG—former single ruling party) is already in active campaign." He added that his party would not hold any more congresses before the presidential elections.

**Rwanda****Burundian Ambassador Delivers Message to Premier***EA2204210092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda  
1700 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] This morning at his office Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye received the Burundian ambassador to Rwanda, Mr. Marc Nteturuye, who handed him a message from Burundian Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana. In the message, the prime minister of Burundi congratulated Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye on his appointment as prime minister and wished him success in his endeavors. The Burundian prime minister also expressed satisfaction at our prime minister's speech on 16 April when he presented his government's program.

Adrien Sibomana expressed his satisfaction especially with Dismas Nsengiyaremye's desire to hold talks with Rwanda's neighbors, including Burundi, so that peace may prevail in our sub-region and mutual trust may be restored between Burundi and Rwanda.

Our prime minister informed the Burundian ambassador to Rwanda that he was pleased to receive the message from his counterpart. Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye and Ambassador Marc Nteturuye expressed their hope that Burundi and Rwanda would strive for peace, unity, and the strengthening of the multiparty system, and would cooperate for the benefit of their respective peoples.

Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye took the opportunity to express his unhappiness about the current poor relations and mistrust between Rwanda and Burundi, and declared that he would do everything possible so that both countries could resume brotherly understanding and develop their relations for their peoples' interest. In this regard, Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye asked all those concerned in question to do everything possible so that bilateral relations would be marked by mutual trust, each avoiding what could bring about bad relations.

The Burundian ambassador for his part hailed Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye's desire to bring about peace and good relations between our two countries.

**Sao Tome & Principe****President Comments on Dismissing Government***LD2304170192 Lisbon RDP Internacional  
in Portuguese 1119 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Excerpts] Last night President Miguel Trovoada of Sao Tome and Principe dismissed Prime Minister Daniel Daio's government by means of a decree-law broadcast on national radio. [passage omitted]

In his address, President Miguel Trovoada added that contrary to what certain quarters would have people believe, it is not the demonstrations against the high cost of living that are at the core of the problem, but rather the poor functioning of the institutions which has turned debate into a dialogue of the deaf, thereby precluding any solution by consensus. My position, he added, has nothing to do with matters of political or personal confidence. The president then went on to recall Prime Minister Daniel Daio's public statements, indirect ascribing responsibility to the head of state for attempts to destabilize the country.

The president also referred to the fact that the courts have not functioned for several months now, describing this as an anomalous and extremely grave situation in which citizens find themselves unlawfully deprived of

their freedom. He called this a flagrant violation of individual liberty and human rights and a situation which casts a stain of discredit on Sao Tome's democratic system.

In his address, Miguel Trovoada said that it is clear that the government has attempted to divert domestic and international opinion from the true problems by fabricating a version, according to which it all boils down to a settling of old scores between the president and the prime minister connected with the former's arrest in 1979, at a time when Daniel Daio was minister of defense and national security.

Miguel Trovoada stressed that he is not dismissing the government on grounds of political disagreement or personal incompatibility and that his decision is not dictated by the street demonstrations nor by the defamations, slanders, and unfair charges leveled at the prime minister.

Miguel Trovoada will now consult the Democratic Convergence Party-Reflection Group, which holds the majority in parliament, with a view to forming a new government. He said he will continue to strive with the country's political forces for the creation of a climate of concord, peace, and stability so that the country may be governed without disruptions.

## Zaire

### Mobutu To Stand in Presidential Elections

LD2304152192 Pa. is Radio France International  
in French 1230 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Excerpt] The guest in the studio is former minister of economy in the short-lived government of Mungul Diaka in Zaire, Mwamba Tshishimbi, currently advisor to President Mobutu Sese Seko. The opposition is currently suggesting maintaining President Mobutu as head of state for an 18-month transition period. His role would be limited, but on the other hand he may stand in the forthcoming presidential elections. Is Marshal Mobutu ready to make such concessions? This is what Assane Diop has asked Mwamba Tshishimbi:

[Tshishimbi] The head of state is willing to negotiate all the terms of this transition including finances and the army, but also the conditions in which the elections will be organized, given the fact that as far as he is concerned, he will stand.

[Diop] Does President Mobutu accept to relinquish some of his prerogatives to enable the restoration of social and political peace in the country?

[Tshishimbi] The president has already relinquished a large number of his prerogatives. For example he no longer chairs the Executive Council, as you know. The president currently leaves most of the big decisions regarding the state, including financial matters, to the prime minister, and this can be verified. The big financial organizer in Zaire today is not the president of the Republic, as one may believe, but it is already the prime minister. I think that from this point of view what is said today is merely within the framework of a presidential thinking which consists in saying: We have democratization now; the single party policy is finished; the unique command is finished; we can now share power. If the opposition is in a position to control the prime minister, it is a good thing provided all this would once more stem from a constructive dialogue which we hope to have as a framework for the National Conference.

[Diop] Are there any special areas which you think that the president would not relinquish?

[Tshishimbi] I think that this issue is within the normal framework of prerogatives generally recognized as belonging to a head of state—that is foreign affairs, national defense.

[Diop] In other words, he will not relinquish the Army?

[Tshishimbi] (?I am not saying) that he will not relinquish, I am saying these are big issues which will be the object of negotiations, undoubtedly tough ones. Regarding for example the Army, one can assume that given the fact that in Zaire the Army has two big missions—national defense of the territory and policing; that is internal security—one can imagine that the defense of the territory would remain within the hands of the head of state and that internal security would be the responsibility of the prime minister. There are solutions at all levels. [passage omitted]

**De Klerk Addresses Parliament on Government**

MB2304174292 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1545 GMT 23 Apr 92

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the South African Communication Service: "Speech by State President F W de Klerk: Budget Vote Debate, Parliament, 23 April 1992"]

[Text] Speech by State President F W de Klerk: Budget Vote Debate, Parliament, 23 April 1992—The overwhelmingly positive result of the referendum on March the 17th has given new momentum to the process of change in our country. Nobody doubts its irreversibility any longer. The debate is no longer on the question whether a new and just order should replace the old; nor about whether it should include all South Africans.

The full focus is now on the question how the new dispensation should look.

Also in respect of this the referendum produced a clear verdict on several fundamental points of departure—on fundamental issues which together form a clear framework for a new constitution as well as for a transitional dispensation. To that I shall return later.

First, however, I wish to focus fully on the impact of the process of change itself and on its implications.

On that which is clearly apparent we do not have to dwell too long. We are experiencing the good and immediate fruits of reform with gratitude. They include, to name but a few examples:

- our return to international sport;
- the normalisation of our international relations in Africa and world-wide;
- growing exports, without which unemployment would be a much greater problem than it is at present;
- newly opened doors for South Africa in the fields of science, academy, arts and culture.

There are other good fruits which are less visible at this stage, but which are, undoubtedly, already there. They include:

- new investments, also from abroad;
- the availability of foreign loans;
- growing tourism to South Africa, with the enormous potential it entails.

Thus we are breaking out of the cocoon of isolation that was woven about us.

There are also invisible fruits. To this I am able to attest from the numerous penetrating discussions I have had with world leaders and opinion-makers in many spheres. They are the fruits of changed thinking about South Africa, of new understanding of the complexity of our problems, of support for fundamental concepts—concepts such as power-sharing without domination; the necessity of constitutional checks and balances; the protection of minorities and interests such as private property ownership, security of tenure for employees of the

state, language and cultural rights; the unacceptability of a winner-takes-all solution; the wisdom of devolving power to regions and to local government. In short—there is a broad understanding and growing international support, specifically for those fundamental points of departure which are part of the mandate we obtained in the referendum.

Nonetheless, the fruits of reform are not confined to our international relations. Domestically, too, we are reaping good fruits already. The most important of them is certainly the process of negotiation itself.

Naturally, the implications of change and reform are of particular interest to all South Africans. No party or individual is able to escape them. Adjustments are required of all and everyone is facing choices.

The best evidence of this statement is what we are finding and experiencing here in Parliament.

in the House of Representatives there has been a change of administration.

in the House of Delegates matters are seething and smouldering.

in the House of Assembly differences of principle and policy are erupting openly in the ranks of both opposition parties—with resultant expulsions.

And we know the end is not in sight—that more has to ensue.

I do not wish to indulge in petty politics about this. No-one who appreciates the gravity of the moment would wish to do that. If we wish to secure a stable and prosperous future for our children, we will have to ensure, among other things, a stable and continuous democratic process within a new constitutional system. Therefore, the question is:

What do we have to do, now in 1992, to ensure exactly that for the future?

Firstly, I believe that everybody realises, with a view to the future, that unnecessary party-political splintering is unwise and may even be dangerous for democracy.

The political playing field in the new South Africa will look quite different to that of the tricameral Parliament. Old divisions, often rooted in history, will lose their relevancy. The same applies to racially-based political divisions and racially-oriented political policies.

In the place of the old divisions, new ones will emerge. As in the rest of the world, economic policy directions will become the most important factor and politics will begin to move mainly in two broad mainstreams.

Those broad mainstreams are already evident in South African politics. What is needed now, is that those who belong together from inner conviction, should come

together. Politicians who believe in the same principles have to find a way of co-operating instead of fighting and weakening one another. The National Party [NP] is fully prepared to do that.

However, it is asking too much if the National Party is expected to wind itself up and submerge itself in a new party. Currently, the National Party is the political party inside Parliament with quite the strongest claim to being a broad national political movement with, in addition, a dynamic growth potential among all South Africans.

In saying that, I am not being derogatory of other parties and their supporters. I am merely stating a fact that is accepted by friend and foe alike and confirmed by scientific research. And because that is so, the National Party will continue, actively and purposefully, to expand and broaden its support base. One does not liquidate a winner. On the contrary, you ensure that it is developed to an optimum state of readiness.

All who are able to associate themselves with the National Party's principles and policies are welcome to join us and help us grow into an even more powerful political movement—a party which will build a mighty bastion against radicalism and play a leading and decisive part in a new dispensation.

Those who, for particular reasons, prefer to maintain a particular identity in another party, but nonetheless wish to co-operate more closely with the National Party on the basis of shared convictions, are equally welcome to enter into discussions with us. In fact, such discussions, particularly with extra-parliamentary parties, are developing well already.

However, one thing is certain. Our old mutual differences and the age-old competition along set lines are politics of the past. In terms of the expressed will of the vast majority of honourable members, this Parliament, as currently constituted, is on its way out. The deep and serious divisions of the past have been eliminated to a large extent. Only the Conservative Party [CP] still clings to the essential elements of the old dispensation—and many of its members know that that is senseless. So far, only one of them has had the courage to admit it openly and bear the consequences.

All of this places us before a new reality. If negotiations proceed as desired, we who are sitting here will not be fighting only one another again in another election. New players are coming to the fore and they are not waiting for the new dispensation—they are part of Parliament already. Through pro-ANC [African National Congress] elements in the Labour Party and the five former honourable members of the Democratic Party [DP] who have joined the ANC, the scene has already begun to change. There are rumours, too, of all manner of political offers being made by the ANC to honourable members of other smaller parties.

Therefore, the party political process of the new dispensation to come has already begun. The party political

rivalry within the current parliamentary dispensation is becoming less relevant by the day. This fact, incidentally, led to the National Party's decision to refrain, as a general rule, from taking part in House of Assembly by-elections for the time being in cases in which the seat had been won in the general election by a member of the opposition. Naturally, we reserve the right to revise this decision in the light of new circumstances.

In the House of Representatives, in which the National Party still has to prove itself conclusively at the polls, the situation is different. In the House of Assembly, the position has become so stabilised, especially after the referendum, that participation in by-elections is not necessary.

New challenges are awaiting all of us in a new dispensation—challenges that will demand a fresh and courageous approach of every individual and party.

The time for this, for parties and members who are still caught up in an old rut, is becoming short. I think it was Augustine who said the difference between a rut and a grave was merely its depth!

This call to every party and honourable member assumes a different dimension in the case of the Conservative Party. That is so because the Conservative Party is still clinging officially as a party to race as the cornerstone of its existence and solutions.

The honourable members of the Conservative Party who are looking ahead in an effort to interpret the result of the referendum realistically, know that a racial approach is a dead-end street.

Yet they do nothing about it. They merely continue to live with the dualism and contradictory ramblings of the Conservative Party - the indefensible confusion of thinking about an "Afrikaner volk [people]" and a white nation; a white "volk" and a "Boerevolk [Boer people]"; a white territory with minimal border adjustments and an "Afrikaner Volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland]" drastically scaled down in terms of its extent and dimensions.

There are Conservative Party members who shudder at the Fascism and Nazi-like bombast of the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. And yet they do nothing about it, but continue to blow hot and cold without putting a clear and comprehensible point of view against it.

There are Conservative Party members who view with concern the way in which their party's refusal to make use of the negotiation opportunities of the moment, is depriving them of any capacity to influence the course of events in any way whatsoever. And yet they do nothing about it and stand waiting on the platform while the train of history passes them by and the radicals beat the drums of violence.

In mentioning all of this, I am not trying, tongue in check, to sow division in the ranks of the Conservative Party. We are long past that stage. What I would like to



see is that the entire caucus of the Conservative Party is persuaded by its more realistic members to adopt a fresh, realistic and more courageous approach. That is what the referendum demands of them. That is what the gravity of the moment requires of them and that is what their supporters ought to demand of them. That is what the leaders of "Volkstaat"-oriented groups are seeking to do in ways different from the Conservative Party's habit of slandering and denigrating its fellow-Afrikaners.

My door remains open to discussion and negotiation. That is the responsible route.

Mr Speaker, it is not the parliamentary parties only that are facing new challenges, however. And it is not the parliamentary parties only from which a fresh and courageous approach is required.

Every extra-parliamentary political party and organisation is confronted by the same challenge.

In this respect I wish to turn to the ANC in particular. As an important actor, the ANC now has a great responsibility to adapt to new circumstances and really begin speaking the language of reconciliation.

Especially in respect of two matters the ANC is out of step with reality at present.

In the first instance, the ANC avails itself of misleading rhetoric, as if apartheid were still the policy of the government and the National Party. Day after day and opportunity upon opportunity it continues to ride the hobby horse of apartheid—regardless of what has been done already to abolish it and the hard work that has been undertaken together to bring about a new constitutional dispensation devoid of racial discrimination. Reconciliation and racial harmony are not promoted at all by an ANC that will not let apartheid die.

Secondly, the ANC is still failing to purge itself of a political philosophy which has led to stagnation and the suppression and disadvantage of the masses wherever it has been applied.

Wherever it has been instituted, Communism has placed power and financial privileges in the hands of the party elite, suppressed real democracy and destroyed economic progress. It is a failed and antiquated political system that has landed on the junk heap throughout Africa as well.

The ANC knows this and is being reminded regularly of it by the international community. And yet the ANC continues to permit itself to be used by the SACP [South African Communist Party] which has practically no support of its own.

The ANC knows that the SACP has an agenda of its own and views its relationship with the ANC merely as a means to an end. And yet the ANC is not doing enough to increase the political distance between them.

The ANC knows that investments, without which it will not be able to honour its election promises, will hardly be forthcoming unless investors are safeguarded from precisely those economic policies which the SACP advocates. And yet the ANC remains reluctant to come into line with the rest of the world in respect of economic policy.

In both these matters the interests of all South Africans demand that the ANC should adopt a fresh and innovative approach. Reconciliation and development are being retarded by its failure to do so.

As was to be expected, honourable members devoted some attention to constitutional matters.

Three topics were touched upon.

Firstly, the question of local government.

In yesterday's debate the honourable member for Pniel sought to accuse the National Party of continued discrimination at the local level of government. He tried to indulge in petty politics on a difficult question. I have always experienced him as a politician who has a strong sense of the necessity of stability and who understands the dangers entailed in domination of minorities and communities. Yesterday, however, he sounded like an advocate of a winner-takes-all dispensation.

I do not think either that the honourable member did justice to the National Party's approach to the franchise and other matters at the local level.

The National Party's published guidelines for constitutional government in a participatory democracy, spell out clearly that is essential to create a framework for good order and co-operation, particularly at the local level, where people live, work and relax every day.

As in the case of the first tier of government, the basic point of departure is that a single non-racial local authority—with a single administration and a single tax base—should be established within the boundaries of every city or town on the basis of universal suffrage for all. It goes without saying, however, that on this level, too, there have to be checks and balances to maintain specific interests within the community practically and fairly on a non-racial basis. This would include matters such as the protection of property rights and safeguards against domination and disadvantage.

It is, unfortunately, at the local level where the great disparity between developed and backward areas comes to the fore most strongly. It is the kind of situation in which confrontation and power struggles thrive. For that reason, precisely, we believe that a dispensation has to be established, also on the local level, that is politically fair in a balanced manner to all—to those who have much to lose and to those who have a lot to catch up. And let me say at once that this point of view has nothing to do with race or colour. In all our population groups there are stable members at the local level who actually carry the whole community. It is they who care for their families, acquire a house or pay their rent regularly, and faithfully meet their obligations

to the local authority. Does the honourable member not want their interests to be looked at?

This may be achieved in a variety of ways, among them by:

electing the local authority on the basis of ward representation;

determining the franchise with due consideration of the interests of all lawful residents, as well as of the special interests of owners, lessees and rate payers;

accepting property valuations and voter numbers in a fair proportion to one another as a basis for the delimitation of wards;

considering a combination model in which, for example, half of the councillors are elected on the basis of a voters' roll on which the names of all the lawful inhabitants appear, and the other half on a voters' roll containing only the names of owners, lessees and rate payers.

These options offer a fundamental framework for further negotiations on the issue and it should be clear to the honourable member that there is no intention whatsoever to disadvantage any segment of the community in an unjust manner.

As far as the tragic lot of squatters is concerned, the honourable member need not preach to us. He knows how many millions of rand have been spent and are still to be spent to alleviate this problem. Everyone wishes to see that the problems of urbanisation, squatting and poverty receive rapid and effective attention.

One thing I do know: the suppression or disadvantaging of the stable section of our population will merely aggravate the problem.

Secondly, there were references to transitional government and the negotiations in that connection. On this I wish to deal briefly with the government's point of view and make a relevant announcement.

I wish to begin by saying that the honourable leader of the official opposition in the House of Assembly is wrong in maintaining that the government was against interim government initially and then accepted it later under pressure.

We said from the outset that transitional arrangements were necessary and that a transitional government was an option which could be negotiated.

At Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] I we, in fact, did go further and expressed our preference for a phased approach—an approach which would include an early transitional government as well as a transitional legislative authority.

This brings me to the National Party's proposals in this connection. In the negotiations on this, our concern is a constructive build-up: to create constitutional circumstances in which all of us may live our lives in peace and security, raise their children, develop their talents and retain that for which they have worked hard. Ultimately, it concerns a constitution under which everybody may

feel safe because not only majorities, but minorities as well, will have a meaningful voice in the government of the day; and also because that constitution will entrench the values and principles that are needed for fairness and justice, for peace and security.

We believe it is possible to achieve this by dividing the next step into two phases: the first being a preparatory phase to transitional government and the second the institution of a transitional constitution in terms of which a transitional executive authority and Parliament may be elected.

In the preparatory phase, the participating parties will be committed by their participation in executive structures to maintaining a climate in which there will be political participation and elections free of intimidation and political violence. In this phase all the necessary preparatory work will be done for the just institution of a new government according to new constitutional provisions.

This phase does not entail a transitional government. Two central governments cannot exist side by side. Only in the second phase will we arrive at the transitional government itself.

In my opinion, this, in particular, has been a cause of some confusion. In some circles, the government's proposals on transitional councils—later renamed preparatory councils—have been interpreted to constitute our proposal for a form of transitional government. That is not and never was the case. Transitional government has to be instituted in terms of an amended constitution and as we have undertaken, we shall announce more detailed proposals soon.

In this context, nonetheless, I do wish to lift the veil a little in respect of certain aspects which are providing certain facts now already.

As is known already, our proposals will provide for a legislature or parliament consisting of two chambers.

The first chamber or national assembly will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The second chamber or senate will be constituted differently to give regions equal representation and to ensure that parties from regions are given meaningful co-responsibility.

Our points of view on this are well known already and will now be submitted in greater detail.

When it comes to the executive, our proposals will, indeed, contain a significant new element and it is about this that I wish to inform honourable members.

Until now, we have been talking about a presidency that will function through consensus and appoint a cabinet, among other things. The first change in our proposals is one of terminology to eliminate confusion.

Our detailed proposals will now propose an executive council.

This executive council will replace the present state president and will carry out the functions of the head of state and the head of government. The executive council will reach its decisions through consensus, as has been our proposal from the beginning.

The chairmanship of the executive council will rotate, six-monthly in the transitional government, and the member who is chairman will be known as the president and will also fulfill the ceremonial functions of the head of state.

When it comes to the composition of the executive council, our new proposal differs in a very important respect from previous proposals.

We are now proposing that the executive council of the interim government should be elected directly by all South African citizens who will be entitled to vote on the basis of a new, negotiated electoral act. Furthermore, every party will be able to nominate one candidate and everyone who qualifies for the franchise shall have one vote. The three to five candidates who receive the highest number of votes will be elected as members of the executive council.

Considerably greater detail will become apparent from the documentation to be issued shortly.

This important adjustment in our proposals, namely of the direct election of an executive council of three to five members, is not merely a novelty directed at strategic aims. No, it is an honest attempt to find a reasonable solution to several key problems.

Among the most important advantages of the direct election of an executive council are the following:

democracy is maintained and, in fact, expanded.  
leaders with proven support are identified and acquire a direct responsibility to those who elected them.  
the separation of the legislative and executive authorities is strengthened.  
a phased approach in which the executive authority will be able to be re-constituted reasonably rapidly at an early stage and apart from parliament, becomes possible.

One could add a great deal. For that, however, there will be enough time during the process of negotiation.

In conclusion, some words on the question of transitional government.

History worldwide has taught us that transitional phases may be very dangerous. Destabilisation in structures of government offer opportunities to adventurers who wish to take over power—usually adventurers who maintain that they wish to take over power in the name of and on behalf of the people, but then proceed to use that power as their own power in their own right. We have seen the

misery this has brought to peoples and nations. Africa and Eastern Europe have provided recent examples.

For that reason, we do not wish to leave South Africa without a responsible government at any time during the process of democratisation; responsible because the responsibility to govern is entrusted to it by the voters and its mandate has to be revised regularly in general elections. The present constitution, with its limited basis of representation, contains controls over the executive authority. Any form of transitional executive authority without such controls, will give it unlimited dictatorial powers, which is unacceptable.

In addition, any ensuing government also has to remain subject to other checks and balances and to other values and principles entrenched in a constitution. In the process, we may not at any time move from an imperfect constitution, (which the present one certainly is) to an even more imperfect one. We have to get a better constitution, never a worse one.

Precisely because our next constitution will be a transitional one, it has to provide for more representative and, therefore, responsible government; it has to be, in particular, a power-sharing constitution so that minorities may feel safe under it and may have an equal voice in the planning and determination of further constitutional development; it has to still embody a bill of fundamental rights and a constitutional court will have to be instituted.

I also wish to refer to the question of secret funds and secret projects.

Since Parliament was prorogued last year, a storm erupted about them. At the time I provided certain explanations and gave certain undertakings and feel obliged to inform Parliament briefly about the further course of events.

Honourable members will recall that I nominated a private sector committee. I wish to express my appreciation again to Professor Ellison Kahn and the other members of the Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects. The government was particularly privileged to be able to depend on the investigation and advice of people of proven capability and high esteem in respect of such a sensitive matter. I especially appreciate that they were prepared to undertake a difficult task in a thorough manner and complete it within a short space of time.

The undertaking given on the part of the government on the question of secret funds and covert actions amounted, in brief, to the following:

- it was my declared objective to limit actions and projects of this nature to an absolute and essential minimum.
- I also envisaged that those actions which had to be continued in the national interest would not only be subjected to stringent financial control, but also to firm cabinet management.



- I stated that it was government policy that secret funds might not be used to favour one political party or organisation above another.
- the revision of legislation appertaining to secret funds was envisaged.

I am pleased to report on the way in which these undertakings were honoured.

Since I stated as a point of departure, here in Parliament in March 1990, that covert actions had to be confined to an essential minimum, there has been a drastic reduction every year in the number of special secret projects, that is to say projects which fall outside the strict line functional terms of reference of departments, and in the expenditure on them. At an international press conference on July the 30th 1991, I had this to say in this connection:

"It remains the government's aim to restrict special secret projects to the minimum. Once again the scalpel has cut deeply."

Since then, Professor Kahn's committee has found that the departments involved have clearly striven to give heed to the intention of the government, to terminate or scale down not only special secret projects, but, in some cases, also a number of ordinary covert projects which fall outside the definition of special secret projects.

The decline in activities of this nature was such that the National Intelligence Service [NIS], the South African Police [SAP] and the defence force have now terminated all special secret projects and are confining themselves only to the line functional task entrusted to them by law.

Apart from internal auditing and strict auditing by the auditor-general, the conduct of secret projects is subject to cabinet control. A committee of four ministers under the chairmanship of the minister of finance exercises control over the content of every special secret project and overall over covert expenditure in general. Therefore, sound and effective cabinet control has been established in this connection.

The political playing field:

Professor Kahn's committee's original terms of reference were to subject special secret projects to the ensuing guidelines:

- no political party may be favoured or disadvantaged by such a project;
- it has to be in the broader national interest; and
- it has to play a positive part in promoting peace and combatting intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

In the course of the investigation they took a wider look—also at secret projects which fall outside the definition of special secret projects.

The Kahn committee found that the continuing projects of a secret nature complied with these guidelines. Whenever the committee recommended the termination of a

project, the recommendation was accepted. The committee confirmed as well that departments of which it is the normal task to occupy themselves with covert actions in their line functional context, should continue to do so.

I wish to put it plainly once again that it remains the government's policy that there should be no political advantage by means of secret funding. The political playing field in South Africa is level and the government's commitment to a just and equitable solution through negotiation is above suspicion.

However, the government is not only committed politically to the process of negotiation, but, as the government of the country, also bears a great responsibility in this respect. The political playing field also has to be kept level.

It is in this context that the execution by institutions such as the National Intelligence Service, the police and the defence force of their statutory obligation to see to the maintenance of law and order, has to be viewed. No person, group or institution that engages in political violence is exempted from this. That is the case in any democratic society.

The institutions involved and the government deal with information gathered in this respect with great circumspection and with full consideration of their undertaking and responsibility to keep the playing field level.

Legislation:

Finally, I am able to announce that the revision of the legislation on secret funds is now in the process of being finalised. The new legislation being envisaged is to be tabled in Parliament as soon as possible.

### Comments on Private Armies

MB2304201792 Johannesburg SAPA in: English  
1948 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Parliament April 23 SAPA—Legislation was to be introduced to forbid private armies being trained and set up, and speed up bringing perpetrators of violence and intimidation before the courts, the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, said on Thursday [23 April].

Replying to the debate on his budget vote, Mr de Klerk said the organising and training of private armies and underground structures was one of the causes for the current violence.

Another cause was the availability of automatic firearms and other sophisticated weaponry, and urgent legislation would be introduced to prevent their possession.

He called for urgent amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act to have cases involving violence or intimidation given priority and brought speedily to court.

The proposed legislation would not stop violence but would make it easier for those upholding law and order

to bring those responsible to justice speedily and, if found guilty, removed from society.

Furthermore a task force would be assigned to the peace committee and the peace secretariat to aid areas where socio-economic conditions were causing violence.

The socio-economic task force would go a long way to containing the unrest-related violence.

The ultimate step to contain the violence was to forge a peaceful solution through the negotiation process.

Details of the planned legislation would be revealed during the justice vote next week, Mr de Klerk, said.

### **Commends Police for Unrest Work**

*MB2304203392 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2015 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Text] Parliament April 23 SAPA—Significant progress had been made in discussions between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] on terminating the movement's armed struggle, the state president, Mr FW de Klerk, said on Thursday [23 April].

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he also said discussions were being held at cabinet level to "enrich and widen" strategies to counter violence in the country, and that he himself was concerned at the low percentage of killers ending up in the courts.

The termination rather than the suspension of the armed struggle, and the dissolution of all structures involved in it were aspects that needed special attention to bring the violence in the country to an end.

Significant progress had been made at meetings since he suggested at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 1 that since negotiations had progressed so far as to be irreversible, the time had come to give up the armed struggle.

If this happened before Codesa 2, there should be no further obstacles to the ANC being recognised as a full political party, and to the conclusion of agreements on substantive issues such as a transitional government.

Mr de Klerk also said it was "simply not true" that the government was the cause of all the violence in the country.

Violence was a terrible problem which was holding up reform and which might continue to delay it even if an agreement was reached, because free and fair elections could not be held while intimidation and violence were rife.

The ANC's simplistic, continuous and unfounded allegations created the impression that the government was standing by with folded arms and doing nothing to stop the violence—"the very violence of which the ANC is an integral part".

ANC supporters were involved in almost every incident of violence as either perpetrators or targets.

A third of the police force was involved in fighting unrest and violence in the townships, and he could almost move Parliament to tears with tales of their deeds of sacrifice and great courage there.

"If in such circumstances you are accused of not doing your best to stop the violence, then such an accusation rings hollow..."

"I think it's not only unkind; it's untruthful if anyone makes the allegation that the government through the security forces is not doing everything in its power to bring violence to an end."

It was "not a pattern that vigorous action is not taken".

It was one thing to trace a murderer on the run after an individual killing, and another to find five people who committed a murder when a thousand people had been together and then all disappeared.

The police deserved more sympathy than they were getting for their difficult task.

Mr de Klerk said that last Wednesday the Cabinet had a "fundamental discussion" to enrich and widen strategies to combat crime more effectively.

"It is bothering me that we are not getting a sufficient percentage of murderers before the courts. We are not catching enough of them."

These discussions would be continued tomorrow in a cabinet committee.

He also said that Parliament might do well to create an opportunity soon to discuss the reports of the Goldstone Commission.

The National Peace Secretariat had made considerable progress, and 11 regional and a number of local dispute resolution committees had been formed.

However it could not be expected that the institution of the committees would suddenly make the violence disappear overnight.

It had to be made certain that these structures could operate at their highest level of effectiveness, and it had to be asked how their workings could be improved to achieve maximum success.

He was concerned by continuing political intolerance, and identified himself with the peace secretariat's criticisms of this.

The people who made rousing speeches, threatening that if they did not get what they wanted they would take it by force, were in the forefront of those who put all the blame for violence on the government, and were seriously threatening the success of the national peace accord.

All leaders had to accept co-responsibility in ending violence, and in maintaining proper discipline among their own followers.

#### **Calls LP Leader 'Anti-White'**

*MB2304195892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1943 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Text] Parliament April 23 SAPA—The state president, Mr FW de Klerk, said on Thursday [23 April] that he was "sorely tempted" to call an election for the House of Representatives, but would not do so.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he also described Labour Party [LP] leader Mr Allan Hendrickse as "anti-white" and a "political extortionist".

He said that during a speech which was "as racist as any I have ever heard", Mr Hendrickse had asked him why no election had been called after most of the Labour Party had crossed the floor to the National Party [NP].

"You can relax, I'm not going to announce an election. But I am sorely tempted. I have been sorely tempted to do so because by doing so I will immediately increase the majority of the NP in the House of Representatives."

However, holding a racially based election at this stage would seriously harm the negotiation process.

Mr Hendrickse was "an anti-white person as he sits there ... He shows it and he can't hide it."

The LP leader had created an incorrect picture of government spending on education. For years the government had methodically and within financial constraints moved towards the elimination of discrimination in that field.

"He wants to keep apartheid alive because he has no other cause."

At one time Mr de Klerk had hoped the National Party could face the future hand in hand with Mr Hendrickse.

"But then around every corner you broke agreements with us ... You used extortion, political extortion. You used it blatantly. I don't want extortionists as political partners. I want people of political integrity and now I have people of political integrity."

#### **'Skeptical' Reaction to De Klerk**

*MB2404070992 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 24 Apr 92*

[Text] There's been some skeptical reaction to F.W. de Klerk's new plan that could put a black president in office within six months.

Democratic Party constitutional expert Colin Eglin says the government's constitutional proposals are curiously and curiously, and increasingly sound like something out of Alice in Wonderland. The Conservative Party's Tom Langley says the government is shadow boxing while

surrendering power to the ANC [African National Congress]. The ANC itself has still not responded to the proposal which De Klerk made yesterday afternoon in Parliament. He's proposing a directly elected executive council that would replace the presidency.

Three to five of South Africa's top politicians elected in the one person one vote election would take turns in being president for six months at a time.

#### **Viljoen Says No Power Sharing in Interim Rule**

*MB2304150592 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
23 Apr 92 p 3*

[Report by Ismail Lagardien: "No Real Power in Interim—Viljoen"]

[Text] The government announced yesterday that there would be no power-sharing during the first phase of interim rule as an interim authority would have to be an elected body.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the initial phase—envisaged very shortly after Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 on May 15 and 16—would be that of appointed preparatory councils.

Viljoen's announcement was an almost about-turn from the Government's earlier position of transitional councils, which it tabled at Codesa last month.

After heavy pressure from the African National Congress, the councils have now been called preparatory instead of transitional.

Viljoen said the Government preferred an interim government to be an elected body and the preparatory councils would lay the groundwork for elections to such a body.

The appointments are expected to be made shortly after Codesa 2 where, he said, progress rather than finality on an interim government would be reported.

"We are in favour of having a transitional government as soon as possible and we very much look forward to a successful report to Codesa 2 moving promptly forward in this regard.

"I consider it highly undesirable from Codesa's point of view that too much pressure be put on target dates and on the speed of concluding the work of Codesa.

"It is urgent and in the interest of South Africa from a political, economic and social point of view that there should be finality soon, but it is taking time and the essential basis of decision-making through consensus does require time.

"We are now moving from an area of differences of opinion in the procedural sphere into the areas of content of policy which are more fundamental and difficult to resolve and it requires more time.



"I feel there should be an understanding for the need for patience," Viljoen said.

### **Holomisa Blames Government for Violence**

*MB2204143292 Johannesburg SAP in English  
1351 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg April 22 SAPA—South Africa's unrest violence is planned, initiated and orchestrated by agents of the state, according to Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

The assertion, contained in a statement Gen Holomisa was due to present at the Johannesburg emergency summit on violence, was likely to be repeated by a number of other delegations during Wednesday's [22 April] deliberations.

The SA [South African] Council of Churches [SACC], which called the summit, invited 19 black organisations, but did not include the government or the security forces.

"Forces of the state", it said, were primarily responsible for the violence.

Others at the summit, most notably the African National Congress and its allies the SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions, have made it clear they also believe government agents are instigating the violence.

The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] was not present when summit proceedings opened at a Johannesburg hotel on Wednesday, but the PAC-aligned National Council of Trade Unions was there and has also protested against alleged state-sponsored violence in the past.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, which has often been blamed by the ANC for working in tandem with security forces, was at the summit as well.

IFP representatives, like fiery Transvaal youth leader Themba Khoza, have blamed the SA Police for at times siding with the ANC, and confrontations between the SA Defence Force and the KwaZulu Police have occurred in the past.

The IFP maintains, however, that it is the ANC which instigates much of the violence in black areas.

The IFP's chief representative at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], Dr Frank Mdlalose, has also made it clear that Inkatha does not believe interim government can be established in South Africa until the country is peaceful.

The Transkei's statement alone, on the issue of violence, promised heated argument during the summit:

"The fanning...of the flames of violence is a... premeditated strategy to weaken the liberation struggle to...enable the NP (National Party), with the support of its surrogates, to win the elections.

"Violence cannot be ended until a new government of national unity has been established to foster peace and reconciliation. This is reinforced by the startling disclosures of the funding and training of a certain political organisation to oppose its rivals."

### **Judge on Non-Cooperation of KwaZulu Police, SAP**

*MB2204150892 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1400 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] A Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court judge says the lack of cooperation between the KwaZulu and South African Police [SAP] is deplorable. Craig Dunem reports that Judge Andrew Wilson made the remarks while delivering judgment in the Trustfeed massacre trial in which seven policemen are charged with murder:

[Dunem] Judge Wilson was referring to events after the December 1988 massacre when four special policemen alleged to have killed 11 people disappeared. The policemen had, however, joined the KwaZulu Police [KZP]. Several months later they have still not been traced. There was only one captain, (Fred Dutton), who told the investigation that he traced them. The judge, however, said (Dutton) made repeated attempts to get the accused's personal files from the KZP for his investigation. After several failed attempts (Dutton) had to travel to Ulundi personally to get the files.

The judge says evidence has also shown that the KZP may have tried to conceal the circumstances around the employment of the four accused. Judge Wilson says this calls for an inquest.

### **Commentary on De Klerk's Visit to Nigeria**

*MB2304141992 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans  
17 Apr 92 p 1*

[Unattributed commentary in English: "A Pat on the Back from Nigeria!" "Military Dictator 'Recognises' SA" [South Africa]—from the PATRIOT "Review and Comment" section]

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk's 'breakthrough' visit to Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has been splashed across our newspapers' front pages and shown on our state-controlled television, with nary a mention of the true reasons behind Nigeria's "acceptance" of South Africa into the discredited Organisation of African Unity (OAU) "once a majority government is installed in SA [South African]".

De Klerk is the answer to Nigeria's prayers: A fawning White South African doing penance for the sins of apartheid who now seeks absolution from Africa and who is prepared to pay for that forgiveness.

"In his sentiments, the SA president went beyond our wildest imagination", enthused Mr. Duro Onabule, the Nigerian president's press secretary. We can be sure Nigeria's military dictator President Ibrahim Babangida is rubbing his hands at his good fortune. Beating a path to his door, undoubtedly bearing gifts, is the president of the continent's only country that works, ready to place the goods and services of his motherland on Nigeria's altar of recognition.

Yet President Babangida of Nigeria, the man who has captivated SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha, executed over 70 political opponents for attempting to overthrow his rule in April 1990. These sentences were passed by a "special military tribunal".

Human rights organisation including Amnesty International condemned the trials, conducted in secret and headed by a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council. Even the European Community denounced the executions. According to a report in September 1990, almost a thousand people, including some civilians, have been investigated since the rebellion which sent shock waves throughout Nigeria and revived "dormant ethnic and religious tensions".

Nigeria was the scene of mass genocide some years ago as the Southern Ibos were slaughtered in their thousands by the Muslims of the north. Nigeria is on a par with Uganda for blood-thirstiness, violence and political killings, and it is from this country that South Africa seeks deliverance for her sins of the past!

It is quite clear that this country is seen as a new milk cow to shore up one of Africa's more parlous economies. Nigeria's foreign debt is 30 billion dollars, the continent's largest. Prices are rising faster now than over the past twelve years. The country's inflation rate has leapt from 50 percent to 80 percent over the past month (a tin of powdered milk now costs R100), and the government is printing too much money.

Despite being oil rich, Nigeria never has enough foreign exchange to purchase imports. It has an estimated unemployment rate of 40 percent and is clearly looking to South Africa to rescue it from its economic doldrums.

Nigeria may be a giant in Africa, as our SA newspapers are trumpeting, but it is a disastrous giant. Witchcraft, corruption, violence and political assassinations are the order of the day. As in many other African countries, Nigerians are hopelessly incompetent and no amount of aid and trade will change Nigerians' cultural defects in running a modern state.

Brian May, author of an outstanding book "The Third World Calamity" explains Nigerian under-development in terms of cultural barriers. South African businessmen would do well to be wary before getting involved in any joint ventures with Nigeria. Many say that in Nigeria, "the absence of any applicable socio-economic tradition at all inevitable entails a widespread lack of maintenance which dooms projects to rapid deterioration from the

moment of their exposure, and ensures breakdowns in water, electricity and telephones."

"It would be a mistake to attribute such neglect to mere inefficiency", says May. "What is involved is a fundamental lack of interest in the creations of an alien culture". It is not only technology which remains unassimilated, but "the whole complex of Western motives and values. The much-reported inefficiency of the Nigerian civil service cannot be attributed to unintelligence, since intelligence is obviously there, but to a widespread lack of interest in both the task and in organisation as such".

There is little interest in actually doing any work, says May. There is an emphasis on status rather than achievement. The symbols of a university degree or company director's title are seen as ends in themselves, rather than the means of achieving personal productivity.

Ritual killers rule Nigeria's university campuses: in April 1991, witchcraft killings, gun battles, blood-drinking rituals and sexual abuse were investigated by the police. One student was arrested carrying a severed head.

Nigeria's airports were voted the worst in the world in May 1990 by the International Federation of Airline Pilots Association (IFALPA). Frequent power supply failures, theft, smuggling, vandalism, hazardous flight conditions where only "God and the skill of pilots" prevented major disasters were reasons cited for the IFALPA rating. Radar equipment is unserviced due to lack of suitable personnel, and foreign airlines going to Nigeria have to pay their personnel danger pay.

As far as closer cooperation with Nigeria is concerned, what's in it for South Africa? We can be sure that the hands will be out in abundance, and lips are being licked at the thought of a friendly ANC government controlling the richest country in Africa. Nigeria and other African states are waiting on the sidelines to plunder our country, as they have plundered the rest of Africa.

## 23 Apr Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB2304123792

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

Democrats Should Form National Party Alliance—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 21 April in its page 6 editorial believes the Democratic Party, DP, has "reached its moment of truth" with the switch of five of its caucus members to the African National Congress, ANC. Now the "only real hope" for the DP is if President De Klerk "decides on a centrist party, with which the DP could throw in its lot. Using the same kind of tactics he used in the referendum, Mr De Klerk could sweep up White, Coloured and Indian votes, plus a fair number of Black votes, to challenge the ANC for power." The DP is "doomed" if it remains independent.

### THE STAR

DP Roles To Uphold Liberal Values, Be Honest Broker—Commenting on the shift of five DP parliamentarians to the ANC, Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 April in a page 18 editorial says: "Such is the refreshing nature of politics in once-rigid South Africa that major shifts in alignment seem healthy rather than disturbing." For the DP, "the loss is minimal." Perhaps now, from within the ANC, the defectors can "work to eradicate the worrying little signs of authoritarianism and dogmatism that surface from an organisation ostensibly committed to democratic procedure." Now the DP has a "twin role" to play. "First, it must keep alive liberal values. This will be increasingly difficult as the main protagonists jockey for power. Frankly, we do not trust either the Nationalist Government or the ANC to worry unduly about the niceties of democracy without a nagging voice of conscience to remind them of their public commitments. The second task is to act as an honest broker in negotiations—a role that DP leader Zach de Beer fulfills admirably at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. A party of integrity can play an invaluable role in guiding expedient politicians to a better South Africa."

### BUSINESS DAY

ANC-SACC Similarity of Political Positions 'Disturbing'—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 April in a page 6 editorial says the "similarity between ANC and SACC [South African Council of Churches] political positions suggests either that they are recipients of an absolute wisdom from the same supernatural source or that the SACC has become no more than the cat's paw—a mere echo of the ANC. The latter is a disturbing possibility."

### SOWETAN

DP Defectors in Parliament Spell its 'Demise'—"There is no longer any doubt that the present Parliament carries the seeds of its demise," begins a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 April. "The five Democratic Party members who defected to the ANC now represent the section of the population that has been calling for an end to all apartheid institutions. It took a lot of courage for the five to stand up and be counted." "The defections are just the beginning of the end of white politics as we have known them for centuries."

### SOUTH

De Klerk Not Savior of Future—Editor Guy Berger writes in the page 8 editorial in Cape Town SOUTH in English for 11-16 April, "it is mistaken to see De Klerk and his men as saviours of the future." "He is a politician first and foremost—and one who did not hesitate to condone state subterfuge and secret funding of political allies like Inkatha. A future under F.W. will be one that will perpetuate the accumulated injuries of the past—and the conflict and turmoil that results." De Klerk may "dazzle" some Mitchells Plain residents, but "justice for

some is only possible when there is justice for all. De Klerk is not going to deliver this."

### 24 Apr Press Review

MB2404120492

[Editorial Report]

### THE STAR

Peace Summit Leaders Contradict Themselves—"This is no time for point-scoring, but the [peace] summit leaders appear to have contradicted themselves: in one breath they justify exclusion of the De Klerk administration and the security forces from the summit, in the next they blame them for the violence," notes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 24 April. "If 'apartheid agencies' are indeed the major cause of the violence, they should be engaged in debate, not shunned. That point aside, the summit, called by the SA [South African] Council of Churches, has put forward a number of constructive and welcome proposals, including the holding of joint peace rallies by rival organisations."

### BUSINESS DAY

Police Leadership Fitness Questioned—"That a group of policemen led by a senior officer could have been involved in the massacre of 11 civilians at Trust Feed is cause enough for deep concern at the state of our police force, the role it played during the dying days of apartheid, and the fitness of its present leadership for policing the new South Africa," contends Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 24 April in a page 6 editorial. The Trust Feed case judge when "far further than finding five of the seven accused guilty of murder. He spent much of his three-day judgment delving into a malaise that, at face value, extended and may still extend right up into the office of the Commissioner of Police." "That an investigation is required is beyond doubt. Though there have now been convictions, events have shown how easily justice can be perverted when the police are allowed to investigate themselves."

### SOWETAN

Government Must Do 'Hard Work' Before Winning Zimbabwe Friendship—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 24 April in a page 12 editorial says the meeting between South African foreign affairs officials and delegates from Frontline States on drought relief is important because it was "the first time" that South Africa sat down to talk to members of the Southern African Development Coordination Committee, SADCC, to tackle a common problem. But, South Africa should "not rush to pat itself on the back in the belief that it is now winning friends to our immediate north. It is, of course, a useful toehold: If you help people when they are in trouble, it will be easier to talk to them when the trouble is over. But the Government should remember that it still needs to do some hard work before it can truly say it has friends in countries like Zimbabwe."

NEW NATION

Interim Authority Bill Threatens Codesa—Johannesburg  
NEW NATION in English for 24-30 April in a page 24 editorial says: "This week's speculation that the government will go ahead with an interim authority bill goes beyond brinkmanship, it seriously threatens the future of Codesa. It does so because the sole intention of the bill is to undermine Codesa and render it a toy telephone. The bill shows just how wrong we have been in assumptions that the white parliament would forgo its sovereignty and become the rubber stamp of Codesa." NEW NATION also believes that the "three major bodies, Codesa, the National Peace Accord, and the Goldstone Commission all of which held out such great promise, have all been limited by their lack of power. Executive power in the case of Codesa, and prosecuting power in the case of the National Peace Secretariat and the Commission. They were given the whistle to blow foul, when what they really needed was a baton to whack the perpetrators of violence and to move the country forward."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Democrats Claim Moral Superiority 'Falsely'—Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 24-29 April in its page 24 editorial says the defection to the ANC of five Democratic Party, DP, MPs "brings the DP to a turning point. All people in the country who believe in non-racialism, equality, justice and the rule of law will have to ask themselves whether their cause will be best served by a small and overwhelmingly white Democratic Party, the mixed ideological bag of the African National Congress, the born-again liberals of the National Party or some new alliance that will emerge out of the current flux in party politics. The DP is trying to hold on to its position by claiming a moral superiority, suggesting that it is the sole and legitimate representative of liberal principles. It isn't, nor is anyone else." The DP still has "an important role to play." But "not because it has an honourable history or its members can claim (falsely) to have an impeccable record of commitment to democratic values." The DP will only be part of South Africa's future if it realizes "it has to adapt." It has to rid itself of its "image as a fringe, minority party doomed always to be a voice of conscience and dissent."



## Malawi

### Banda Says Human Rights Respected, Notes Support

MB2304184092 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] His Excellency, the Life President Ngwazi [eagle] Dr. Kamuzu Banda has said the Malawi Congress Party is an effective tool of development in this country and enjoys popular support. The life president was speaking at [word indistinct] auction (?floor) after he officially opened this year's tobacco (?fair).

The ngwazi said the (?party) is not only [words indistinct] stabilizing [word indistinct] but a movement designed to improve the quality of life of the [words indistinct] commenting on reports that a small group of Malawians was organizing to come and (?stay here) to demand a multiparty system of government, democracy, human rights, and freedom of speech, the Ngwazi said as he had said time and again, the Malawi Congress Party was [words indistinct] the people of this country. He said before independence there were other parties which were defeated in the first general elections, and then the country became a one-party state.

The ngwazi pointed out that everyone knows that the Malawi Congress Party has delivered the goods because [words indistinct] the country has developed beyond recognition.

On the question of human rights, the life president said these are respected in this country [words indistinct] do not interfere with the people in the villages. He reiterated that there is no violation of human rights and that the government does not arrest people for the sake of arresting them. The life president added that if anyone is arrested, it means that he has committed a crime. He said it was the duty of the state to ensure security for its citizens, and if anyone is arrested for subversion, his case was reviewed from time to time.

The ngwazi also said sometimes a person indulges in subversion [words indistinct] the police to protect him from the people who might attack him. On democracy, the life president said [words indistinct] representatives to the National Assembly, people of their choice. He stressed that people are in no way forced to choose candidates who they do not want.

On freedom of speech, the ngwazi said that there is freedom of speech (?here) as long as it is not subversive. Commenting on what has been [words indistinct] the life president said although the [words indistinct] tobacco on sale. He said under the circumstances tobacco was promising. The life president advised tobacco farmers in the country to [words indistinct] harvest their tobacco [words indistinct] they should ensure that it is properly branded so that it is attractive to buyers.

### Priest Discusses Events Leading to Expulsion

MB2304155892 London BBC World Service in English 0430 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Report on interview with Monsignor John Roche by BBC reporter Edwin Horseman in Dublin on 22 April on the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Monsignor Roche is a Roman Catholic priest in Malawi, or he used to be until last weekend when he was deported by the government. His crime, if any, appears to be that he was one of seven bishops who signed and distributed a pastoral letter in March which criticized the Malawi Government's human rights record. The letter was hastily suppressed by the government who directed that anyone found in possession of, or distributing, it would be guilty of a crime. Well, yesterday Monsignor Roche arrived in Ireland after a brief stop over in Zambia, and BBC reporter Edwin Horseman met him at Dublin Airport to find out exactly when he first knew he was going to be deported.

[Begin recording] [Roche] That happened really on Good Friday [17 April]. I was at a parish called Mzimba and we started a sort of Good Friday service roughly about 0215 in the afternoon. At 0230 one of the police Land Rovers pulled up just beside the church, so I went over to the house and there were four people there, three policemen and one from [word indistinct] (?delegation) and they immediately informed me that in the morning they had received notification from the head office in Blantyre that I was to be declared a persona non grata and that they were to present me with this letter. I said, you know, I found this very objectionable, that a person in my position was only given 24 hours and that I could demand that I would have sufficient time to hand over with my deputy. I was told at that point they had no authority to do that and that I would have to ask again from Blantyre. I did that in the afternoon when I got back to my own house and the response was that—this came from the minister—that there was no possibility of appeal and that the order stood.

[Horseman] Were you at all concerned for your own safety as you left the country?

[Roche] There is always a certain amount of concern in the country, Malawi. Over the years, whether they are true or false, we hear a lot about accidents on the road and, because of that, we traveled from my own house to Lilongwe in a convoy. We were five cars. The British high commissioner, they [as heard] sent in actual fact their car about halfway up the road to accompany us, and it was they who accompanied me from Lilongwe to the Zambian border and saw me safely across the Zambian border. Something I must say which I was very, very grateful for, and they were obviously concerned with my safety and provided all the security I needed to get into Zambia.

[Horseman] You are now out of the country, but your five Malawian-born colleagues, five bishops, how concerned are you for their safety? They are still there.

[Roche] I would be very concerned. I think if they have done this to me, I ask myself the question, what of my brothers? Maybe just as an example, on Holy Thursday [16 April] the archbishop was to conduct a service which was to be broadcast and at the last minute the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation refused, said they would not accept him [break in transmission] of course those are the areas of concern, touch the whole community, how people relate together, and we did say that, unless these areas were looked at, that we feared for the future, that the peace and the harmony that we have and had in Malawi for many years, that now that may finish, that people may sort of become angry. So of course there are—we put it down as—concerns, and we were sort of hoping that our initiative would be taken positively by the government as an invitation to dialogue, and in that dialogue that maybe some of the answers to these questions, to these concerns, would be found. [end recording]

### Mozambique

#### Greek Oil Tanker Leaves Territorial Waters 23 Apr

MB2304155392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] The Greek oil tanker katin P has already left Mozambican territorial waters and is some 60 miles off the Mozambican coast. The tugging operation began very early this morning.

#### No Major Ecological Damage

MB2304192792 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English  
1500 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] The representative of the South African Department of Environmental Affairs in Maputo, Mr. (Anton Moldan),

says the oil from the leaking Greek tanker, Katina P, has not caused major ecological damage to Mozambican beaches. Mr. (Moldan) said that in addition the effect on marine life appeared to be slight at this stage. The oil was being cleaned up by mechanical means.

Mr. (Moldan) said that about 200 tonnes of oil had leaked into Maputo Bay. The South African salvage tug, John Ross, was still towing the stricken tanker to a spot 222 km off the Mozambican coast. Once the tanker had been towed to the designated place, other vessels would attempt to pump out its cargo of oil.

#### Fishing Ban in Maputo Bay

MB2404083692 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] More than 50,000 people are expected to be affected directly by the ban on fishing in Maputo Bay.

The ban, which was announced by the Mozambican Ministry of Health and the Secretary of State for Fishing, follows the pollution of the coastline by oil from the stricken Greek tanker the Katina P. The ban includes the collection of oysters, clams, and other marine life. Swimming on the beaches has also been prohibited. The areas affected include the beaches of Macaneta, (Muntonhana), Costa de Sol, the Matola river, the Maputo river, Catembe Island, and Inhaca Island. Earlier reports said the tanker did not appear to have sustained any more damage as it was being towed out to sea by the salvage tug John Ross. Inspections by the pollution patrol aircraft Kuswag [Coast Guard] 7, had shown that it was not trailing oil.

A spokesman for the salvage company Pentow Marine has said the salvage vessel (Causeway Salvo) is expected to rendezvous with the two vessels today.

**Liberia****Sawyer Says No Compromise on Disarmament**

AB2304133092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Interim President Amos Sawyer has said government cannot compromise the issue of disarmament. The disarmament of all former combatants, the president said, is a precondition to a viable security atmosphere in Liberia. This issue, Dr. Sawyer said, cannot be negotiated under any condition. Speaking at a news conference in Monrovia this week, President Sawyer said any meeting between himself and Mr. Charles Taylor is a precondition of the disarming of NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] combatants. [sentence as heard] He, therefore, called on individuals of goodwill seeking peace in the country to use their influence to encourage the NPFL fighters and Mr. Taylor to turn over their arms to the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces without delay.

The interim government, he said, is committed to helping former combatants go back to school, (?to get more education), and get involved in other rehabilitation activities. The recent United Nations resolution with provisions on Liberia and the United States Congress joint resolution lifting the ban on assistance to this country, give consideration to the rehabilitation of former combatants as well as the reconstruction of the nation.

**NPFL Official Says Taylor Pressured To Resign**

AB2304113092 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 22 Apr p 20

[Text] Is it a strategy to raise the bid or an expression of dissent within the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL]? Charles Taylor is said to be under pressure from his organization to resign from his post of president. Mr. Joe Mulbah, "minister" of information in Charles Taylor's government, disclosed the news to FRATERNITE MATIN yesterday.

According to Mr. Mulbah, at the "national conference" that began yesterday, Mr. Taylor was reportedly asked "to resign if he ever handed over his arms to the Economic Community of the West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG]."

Mr. Mulbah expressed surprise at the fact that "more and more ECOMOG troops were being deployed in Liberia with Nigeria still playing a dominant role."

Meanwhile, an Italian missionary and an American businessman have been arrested by the NPFL in the past days, and accused of espionage.

**Mali****Interview With Presidential Candidate Alpha Konare**

AB2204152492 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 21 Apr 92 pp 16, 17

[Interview with presidential candidate Alpha Oumar Konare by correspondents Noel Yao and Fana Mohamed in Abidjan on 18 April]

[Excerpts] [FRATERNITE MATIN] You emerged winner of the first round of voting (with 44 percent of the votes cast). How do you envisage the second round? With optimism?

[Konare] It is with a lot of confidence and serenity that we will tackle the second round of the presidential elections having learned a certain number of lessons from the first round.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Which ones?

[Konare] First, the first round marked a desire for change expressed by the Malian people.

Judging from rough estimates of the total number of votes already won in the first round by prodemocracy candidates, I can say that these candidates are in the majority.

Second lesson: Judging from the election results, there is a desire to see the democratic forces and the forces of change running the institutions as a whole. From these lessons, therefore, I am justified in believing that the electorate will renew its confidence in me. I trust the mobilization qualities of Alliance for Democracy in Mali [ADEMA] activists and all supporters who gave me their votes. I wish to note also that some candidates also decided to give me their backing. This applies to Amadou Ali Gnagadou of the RDT [expansion unknown] who participated in the first round and who even came here, to the Ivory Coast, with me; Baba Akhib Aidara of the Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally, and Idrissa Traore of the Party for Democracy and Progress. I hope other candidates will not urge a vote against us and that they will even go further by lending us their support.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] You were initially tipped to be elected outright in the first round, that is by an absolute majority. What in your view went wrong in that regard?

[Konare] You are certainly aware that out of fear for an anti-ADEMA coalition our own activists had wished an outright success in the very first round. But I must confess that for any lucid observer, and with nine candidates contesting in the first round, it was not an easy affair. At any rate, all said and done, we are not unhappy about going in for a second round because this new context will enable us to settle a number of political issues.



[FRATERNITE MATIN] Could you be more explicit?

[Konare] First, we believe there will be less room for frustration, less room for subjectivity, because had we won outright in the first round we would not have been able to grasp a clear picture of the political setting with the likely formation of alliances.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] It would have been a clear-cut victory, nonetheless...

[Konare] Yes, a clear-cut victory but which would have been more difficult to establish politically. If we win on 26 April, it would definitely be an equally clear-cut victory but with, perhaps, a more open political setting and more clearly defined opportunities for alliances, for progressing together because our aim is, in future, to undertake the running of the institutions jointly with the others, otherwise we cannot make it.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Some of your opponents complained of fraud. What do you say about that?

[Konare] You know, people always talk of fraud without naming the defrauders. I would simply like to recall the famous statement by a German observer: "Anyone who ventures to talk of fraud had better take a look at himself in a mirror."

I assure you that the Malian people who went to the polls in Mali, in all the towns, and who voted in Ivory Coast know those who cheated, those who attempted to buy votes, those who believed that without doing political groundwork (listening to the voice of the people) they could change the course of the ballot with money. This does not apply to the ADEMA candidate, and let me tell you this frankly: After every election there are bad losers, people who made such promises—or who even, perhaps, took loans from promoters—that they have to look for excuses, they have to accuse others.

[Excerpts] [FRATERNITE MATIN] Are you referring to Tieoule Konate, the other candidate in this second round?

[Konare] There were over 50 observers in Mali. They all stated that the Malian elections had taken place in good conditions.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Mr. Konare, you have not answered the question...

[Konare] I know that Mr. Konate claimed fraud but as far as I know there is an electoral law in Mali. Any good democrat would begin by making use of it rather than trying to weaken the institutions by claiming fraud. I can tell you that the Malian people have witnessed a lot of things. They will be able to make the right judgment during the second round of the elections.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Yes, alright, but going back to the issue, what explanation do you have for the fact that during the legislative elections, the Malian Supreme Court decided to deprive you of two Members of Parliament to the benefit of Mr. Sekene Mody Cissoko?

[Konare] You know, we are democrats. The electoral law provides that in case of litigation, an appeal should be made to the Supreme Court for a decision. In the case that you have cited, our party was not directly accused. It just happened that in that constituency, there were unsigned proxy votes. The assessors and the electoral returning officer who allowed such votes to be cast were responsible for this situation. The Supreme Court, upon receiving complaints from the People's Solidarity Party, PSP, canceled the votes and subtracted the votes obtained in a constituency where we had obtained 2,600 votes, and where the PSP had obtained only 250 votes. By making the subtraction, the PSP took the lead. But we have decided to appeal to the Ministry of Justice to ensure that things are done in keeping with the electoral law, which stipulates a rescheduling of the elections and not a reallocation of votes which, in this case, has penalized the many citizens who did not vote for the PSP candidates.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] It has been said all the same that you are the "favorite" of the transitional government that is currently in power in Mali. What do you say about that?

[Konare] (laughter) It is not true!

[FRATERNITE MATIN] You are said to benefit from some "favors" from the transitional government...

[Konare] It is not exact. The only favor we have is the favor of the people who we have been able to win over by the work that we have accomplished, by the trust that the people have in us, which dates from long ago. We have been with the people for 30 years now. We struggled in underground movements. During all the major phases of our people's life, we made our voice heard. There are people who never spoke except when it came to running to capture the presidential seat.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Your past role as a former minister of Moussa Traore was stressed by your opponents. Does it bother you today to have been linked with the former regime?

[Konare] You know, when it comes to that, we are two former ministers contesting the presidential elections today (laughter), which means of course that it does not bother me. I entered the government at a given moment, when everybody thought we were on the verge of democratizing the regime. We tried an experiment, and in agreement with my comrades, we decided to leave the government at my request when we realized that the regime was neither in a position to democratize nor to provide concrete answers to the numerous concerns of Malians. Throughout that period, we remained faithful to our commitment as activists of clandestine political organizations. I can assure you about that today. Beyond that, throughout my mandate at the ministry, we never kept quiet.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] So is Alpha Konare a new man?

[Konare] What do you mean by "new man?"

[FRATERNITE MATIN] A man who is not compromised by the past...

[Konare] I am not a man compromised by scandals, mismanagement, unhealthy relationships. But I am not a new man...because I am... an old activist who is fighting for change.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] What do you think of Moussa Traore and what would be his fate if you are elected president of Mali?

[Konare] Moussa Traore is in the hands of justice. I trust the Malian justice and hope that Malian judges will be up to the people's expectations.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] The new Mali needs new commitments. If you are elected president on 26 April, what will be yours?

[Konare] The first one is to be a model and adopt a new management style. We need a team of honest, able, and upright men with a sense of common interest, people who are tolerant and hard working. This is the first thing we will do: be the example as many things are not working in our countries because our leaders are not role models.

Once this is done, we will have a team at work to meet the concerns of Malians who do not have enough food to eat.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] ...Tackle poverty....

[Konare] Tackle poverty, give food to the people, make sure that peace is restored in the country and that the signed **National Pact** helps us have peace everyday. We have to make sure that the country is managed differently so that we achieve decentralization for citizens to take their destiny in their own hands, take part in the country's management, exert control, and define the country's major choices.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Mr. Konare, all this is too abstract in regard to real and widespread poverty....

[Konare] I do not think these programs are abstract. We have defined the political orientations. The first task we will be carrying out is the renegotiation of the structural adjustment program by laying emphasis on the new role of the private sector. There is no economic recovery without it. In this regard, we are planning to take concrete measures to restore new relations with the private sector. Of course, in line with the structural adjustment program, there all the social aspects which must be taken into account: **education, health, employment**. But, we also have to lay emphasis on regional integration, because the structural adjustment program is solely national. There is no prospective vision with regard to regional integration.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Concerning the new Malian democracy, what are the guarantees, when it is known

that ADEMA, your party, already controls the parliament? Some of your countrymen fear that if you are elected president, that is to say chief of the executive branch, you would turn into an autocrat?

[Konare] We have never fought alone. But, there has never been a struggle for democracy in this country without us. We know, much more than others, the price to overthrow a despotic regime. We know the price our people had to pay and we are convinced that any political leader who would not draw lessons from what we experienced will be severely punished by our people who have now decided not allowed themselves to be toyed with.

For the next five years, we are ready to move our country in the path of a "constitutional transition". We have suggested to all the political forces, notably those who fought with us, a **republican pact** that should allow a concerted management of institutions, in other words a **program of government** and an open team to implement it. [passage omitted]

[FRATERNITE MATIN] To what extent can, Soumana Sako, the current prime minister, help you tomorrow?

[Konare] He is highly experienced. He took part in a government which benefited from the support of the democratic movement. I am sure he still has large resources to put at the service of his country.

#### Candidate Konate Interviewed

AB2404070092 Abidjan *FRATERNITE MATIN*  
in French 22 Apr 92 pp 6, 7

[Interview with presidential candidate Tieoule Konate by correspondent Noel Yao in Abidjan on 20 April]

[Excerpts] [Yao] Why did you, like your opponent Mr. Alpha Konare, feel the need to come to Ivory Coast prior to the second round of the Malian presidential elections?

[Konate] It was a visit aimed at meeting my party activists living here, and on a more general level, at meeting my fellow citizens in line with the second round of the elections, and to discuss the specific difficulties encountered during the vote by Malians living in Ivory Coast.

[Yao] What do you mean by "difficulties?" Are you referring to any "election fraud?"

[Konate] I would not talk of election fraud in the case of Ivory Coast. I would rather talk of administrative discrepancies, obstacles, and even obstruction in the voting process of our compatriots which led to the low turnout rate of 3 percent whereas the turnout rate in this country is usually 40, 50, or even 80 percent.

Therefore, the elections did not take place in satisfactory conditions. I came to the Ivory Coast to obtain some information on the prevailing situation, and the efficiency of the measures taken by the transition government to correct the mistakes. Will these measures be efficient enough to allow Malian nationals to participate normally in the elections? This is the purpose of my mission here.

[Yao] At the end of the first ballot on 12 April, you came second. How do you foresee the second ballot?

[Konate] My opinion is that the second ballot is an open one, more open than the first ballot.

[Yao] Is yours not a lost cause?

[Konate] It is not yet lost since we are both starting fresh and we have to win the vote of the grass roots who have a choice between two candidates. So nothing is lost. I am not pessimistic. I am not over optimistic either. I am determined to fight and I believe that the game will be fair provided, of course, that the many irregularities recorded in Mali, are controlled and that Malians living in Ivory Coast will be permitted to vote in satisfactory conditions. [passage omitted]

[Yao] At the end of the day, on 26 April, supposing Mr. Alpha Konare is elected president of the Republic and you are beaten, what would your reaction be? Would you be ready, for example, to admit defeat and to even cooperate with the government led by Mr. Konare if he asks you to do so?

[Konate] On the one hand, if I am a candidate in the elections, that means I am a democrat. Therefore, I can say in advance that I will accept the results of the ballot. This question should not even be asked. On the other hand, if I fail to win the elections, my party will automatically become an opposition party but I will not be an opponent just for the sake of being an opponent.

[Yao] Would you go to the extent of joining a government headed by Mr. Konare?

[Konate] Not at all! Not at all! This simply implies that according to the circumstances, I would be prepared to participate in any action that I would consider in conformity with my country's interests.

[Yao] Not from within a possible Konare government?

[Konate] That would be engaging in fiction politics and I am not ready for that at the moment.

[Yao] The Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally [US-RDA] is an old party. In regard to its discourse, what is the degree of receptivity of today's Malian youth to it?

[Konate] We have to wait for the test of time. The US-RDA is an old party but which is nonetheless supported mainly by Malian youth. It is a mistake to believe that the new parties have a discourse that is better

perceived by the youth. I believe that if the US-RDA is the second most important party in Mali but did not achieve the expected success, this is because it was banned for 23 years. Its reawakening is very recent, and its financial means insufficient to reactivate all the grass-roots branches. And finally, at the level of leadership, we are experiencing a serious crisis because part of the steering committee is in the opposition, while the other part is with me and supports my candidacy in the presidential elections. This division is weakening our party but I believe that in the coming weeks, we will come to terms with this.

[Yao] There is also the fact that like Mr. Konare you were a former minister under Moussa Traore. According to you, have the voters not blamed you for that?

[Konate] Let us be simply logical: My adversary was a minister under Moussa Traore as well, and it was at periods marked by tragic events. My term of office was transparent, without any shady deals, and the circumstances surrounding my departure from the government are remembered by all. My integrity and reputation have therefore never been tarnished.

We should also avoid of one-sided opinion about Moussa Traore of the years 1968 through 1970 and of the 1990's. So, if we want to talk about this issue, it must be discussed seriously. Moussa Traore must not be presented superficially.

[Yao] So, there is a good Moussa Traore and a bad one?

[Konate] I say that there was a time when, because of the mistakes made under the First Republic, Moussa Traore was welcomed in Mali with much esteem. Perhaps, that did not last for long, but it was a historic fact that nobody can deny.

[Yao] If you were elected president of Mali on 26 April, what policy will you pursue against the poverty prevailing throughout the country?

[Konate] As part of my program of government, I proposed a coherent plan: first, combating unemployment and underemployment among the youth. One of the priorities would therefore be combating unemployment by making private initiative our basis, by using to the maximum internal financing capabilities, which are important unlike what is believed, and by using foreign aid in the best way.

Second, there is considerable potential in our country for increasing production capacity and revenue. Our strategy will consist in using fully our potential in the agricultural and animal husbandry field. It will also consist in trying to harness the resources in rural areas and enhance civil service personnel who are known to be the worst paid in the subregion.

This development of production, accompanied by the promotion of internal and external marketing, will be likely to substantially increase our countrymen's revenues.



This, therefore, means combating unemployment through development of small and medium-scale enterprises and small and medium-scale industries as well as encouraging the private sector and the disengagement of the state, which will be limited to its essential missions. Another means will be a large-scale utilization of our considerable resources in the agricultural and animal husbandry sector.

In conclusion, to make all that work, there must be a concomitant development of infrastructure as we have a land-locked country that can overcome its economic problems only with an efficient internal and inter-regional transport system.

[Yao] What is your opinion on the Tuareg issue and the signing of the National Pact?

[Konate] This Pact has just been signed, and I am happy about it since it has sanctioned peace. I hope it will actually sanction peace and that the ensuing truce will actually be implemented.

Then, I hope that the cease-fire will be actually respected. Second, since I am not in the government, I do not have the necessary elements to assess how the extremely precise clauses, which are in the agreement, will be implemented.

I hope that the government has the necessary means to implement them.

[Yao] In general, what do you think about how the transition is going under the chairmanship of Amadou Toumani Touré?

[Konate] I simply hope that it will end as quickly as possible, because a lasting transition can create an unfortunate situation for our country.

We need to rapidly act on a long-term basis, and that can be possible only with institutions enjoying the necessary duration and legitimacy. The transition regime did what it could, but I think that it is time for it to be taken over so that we can tackle the major dossiers with all the required rigor.

[Yao] What are your views about President Toumani Touré?

[Konate] Like all Malians, I find him a man of his word, a man of quality, extremely popular, and with whom I have cordial relations. I have no doubt that he will keep his promise to quit power once the normal conditions for transition to the Third Republic are met. I believe that he is good man.

[Yao] It is true, according to some allegations, that President Houphouët-Boigny supported you in your campaign?

[Konate] Now, this is disinformation that started from your own country when the opposition accused President Houphouët-Boigny of spending billions in Mali.

Ill-intentioned people used this piece of information to make me look like President Houphouët-Boigny's protégé. It is totally untrue, completely dishonest. Looking at it realistically, one realizes that I am not the candidate with huge means for the campaign. Those with huge means are those protected by the press and whom nobody talks about.

[Yao] If you are not elected on 26 April, what would you wish Africa to remember you for?

[Konate] I would like Africa to remember that I fought a loyal and worthy fight. You know, this democratic experience is very interesting in Mali. Malians went through the democratic transition in a very exemplary manner. There was no violence.

[Yao] But then this transition was born out of violence....

[Konate] It was born out of violence but democratic pluralism is being experienced in our country with much dignity. There is no violence among the political leaders. There is no political violence among the parties, and particularly during the campaigns, there are harmonious relations among the parties and this is an outstanding fact. This is the reason why I must refrain from verbal violence or any disloyal attack. So, I want to be known as a democrat and a nationalist who fought a battle in accordance with the rules of democracy.

[Yao] Mr. Konate, listening to you, one gets the feeling that you are being pessimistic and that as far as you are concerned, you have already lost the game....

[Konate] I am sorry if I left you with that feeling. I told you at the start that the game was not decided yet, that we were starting it all over again, that I will fight with determination, and that I will denounce the system of fraud. The game has not yet been won, neither by me nor by my opponent. Therefore, it is very regrettable that you had that feeling. In any case, that is not my feeling.

## Nigeria

### Demonstrators Attack Osun Parliament House

AB2304122092 Paris AFP in English 1214 GMT  
23 Apr 92

[Text] Lagos, April 23 (AFP)—Demonstrators angry over alleged failures of local government have attacked the Parliament in Osun State north of here, beating up 19 legislators and ransacking the building, press reports said Thursday [23 April].

The incident, on Wednesday, was the first violence against the new state civilian authorities elected in December.

The demonstrators, whose precise grievances were not known, had accused the legislators of holding up government processes by refusing to enact legislation proposed by Governor Isiaka Adeleke, press reports said.



The governor issued a statement denying persistent rumours that he had instigated the disturbances.

Adeleke and the majority in the State Assembly both belong to the Social Democratic Party—one of two parties set up by the military federal government as part of a controlled and phased return to civilian rule.

The leader of the rival National Republican Convention (conservative) group in the Osun State Parliament, Tayo Owagbile, was beaten by the demonstrators and six other legislators were admitted to hospital after being attacked with clubs and machetes, newspapers reported.

The speaker, Wale Afolabi, and his deputy Olanike Omowore managed to get out unhurt, they said.

Owagbile told the Nigerian Tribune newspaper that he failed to understand the motives of the demonstrators because the assembly had already approved the state budget drawn up by Adeleke.

Osun, whose capital is Osogbo 250 kilometers (170 miles) north of Lagos, was one of several new states created last year in the run up to the state elections.

#### **Army Official Denies Coup Rumors, Arrests**

*AB2304175092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Text] There are rumors of a coup d'etat circulating in Nigeria. The Nigerian Government has just denied it officially. More details with Francis Temanaka:

[Temanaka] According to Colonel Fred Chijuka, the Nigerian Army public relations director, rumors of the arrest of several high ranking officers circulating in Lagos and Abuja over the past few days are groundless. He said that they are being spread solely to harm the smooth implementation of the military-initiated transition program towards civilian rule set for 2 January 1993.

The rumors seem to have come from Abuja, and dealt with the arrest of several high ranking officers and some of their men. False, Col. Chijuka countered, adding that the officers and soldiers of the Nigerian Army are going about their normal activities.

Meanwhile, in diplomatic circles, it is said that these rumors were spread at a time when the Nigerian leadership seems hesitant to implement the program because of the current economic situation.

#### **Human Rights Group Condemns De Klerk's Visit**

*AB2204121092 Paris AFP in English 1130 GMT  
22 Apr 92*

[Text] Lagos, April 22 (AFP)—Nigeria's leading human rights group has condemned this month's path-finding visit to Nigeria by South African President Frederik de Klerk as "deeply regrettable" and "ill-advised".

In a letter to South African black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) said De Klerk's visit was at the "instance of the Nigerian military rulers" and "did not enjoy the blessing of the Nigerian people".

The CDHR was "demoralised" by the trip and was more than ever concerned to "rid the African Continent of dictatorship whether in the form of military rule, one-party rule, an imposed two-party system or apartheid", the letter, made available to AFP, said.

De Klerk got a red-carpet reception with full honours from President Ibrahim Babangida at the start of his two-day visit on April 9 and subsequently described his talks with Nigerian leaders as friendly and "very positive".

Mandela's ANC [African National Congress] and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), both recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which General Babangida currently chairs, had condemned the visit in advance. A delegation from the hardline PAC nevertheless met here behind closed doors with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha during the visit.

With its reference to "an imposed two-party system", the CHDR took a sidesweep at the transition to civilian rule overseen by Babangida, who has rejected all registration applications from political movements and channelled politicians into just two parties of the regime's own making, saying one is left and one is right of centre.

The Lagos-based CDHR is headed by Beko Ransome Kuti, brother of Nigeria's health minister and of the musician Fela, who has seen the inside of prison for his criticism of Nigeria's rulers.

Novelist and playwright Wole Soyinka, who won Africa's first Nobel Literature Prize in 1986, told the official NAN NEWS AGENCY on Tuesday [21 April] that De Klerk's visit was not a "surprise".

"There as been progress on all fronts in South Africa, but serious problems still needed to be tackled and the visit must be seen in that context," Soyinka said.

#### **PANA Intergovernmental Council Meets in Abuja**

*AB2204150092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 0600 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] Nigeria has appealed to African countries not to allow the resources invested in the PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY to be wasted. The minister of information and culture, Professor Sam Oyovbaire, made the appeal in a message to the opening session of the intergovernmental council of PANA yesterday in Abuja. He said that PANA was an important institution in the continent which should not be allowed to continue to flounder because of the resources committed to it since 1979.

Prof. Oyovbaire said that in spite of the global economic problems and other constraints, Nigeria had continued to give the agency constant political, moral, and financial support. He expressed the hope that other African countries would give the agency the necessary support to enable it to function more effectively. The minister's address was read by the director general in the Ministry of Information and Culture, Dr. G. A. Adeosu. In his address, the assistant secretary of the OAU, Mr. (Ohm-  
ande Hagy), said that nonpayment of contributions by member states of PANA was the major constraint facing the agency. He said that because of inadequate funding, telecommunication links between PANA and other agencies had been cut off.

### Senegal

#### Diouf Meets Visiting Mauritanian Minister

*AB2204222092 Dakar Radio Senegal in French  
1900 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Excerpt] Among the various officials received in audience by the head of state today was Mr. Mohamed Abdrahmane Ould Moine, the Mauritanian minister of foreign affairs, accompanied by Mr. (Mohamed Ould Nani), the personal adviser of the president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Minister Ould Moine brought a personal message from His Excellency Colonel Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Present at the audience were Mr. Djibo Ka, minister of foreign affairs; Army General (Doudou Diop), the personal chief of general staff of the president and inspector general of the Armed Forces; and Ambassador (Babacar Thierno Sow Mbaye), diplomatic adviser to the president. [passage omitted]

[Libreville Africa No.1 in French at 1830 GMT on 22 April adds the following recorded statement by Mauritania's Foreign Minister Moine in Dakar: "His Excellency President Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya has, among other things, made it a priority, in matters of foreign relations, to strengthen and consolidate the relations of cooperation, solidarity, and good neighborliness with brotherly countries in the West African region."]

#### Mauritanian Ties Reestablished

*AB2304211092 Dakar Radio Senegal in French  
1900 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Text] The lead story for the day is, undoubtedly, the reestablishment today of diplomatic relations between Senegal and Mauritania, broken since August 1989 following serious incidents which left victims in both countries. The relevant agreement is contained in a communique published today at the end of an official visit by the Mauritanian foreign minister to Dakar. Here are the broad outlines of the communique presented by Abou Demba Fall.

[Fall] In the communique, which was published simultaneously in Nouakchott and Dakar, the two countries through their heads of state reaffirmed their determination to restore and preserve peace and security in the subregion. The two parties deplored the traumatic events of April 1989, which delivered a crushing blow to bilateral relations regarding heritage, culture, and civilization. Thus, with the communique, we are immediately reestablishing diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. Air and postal links also resume immediately, while land borders are to be reopened very soon.

The communique notes implicitly that the burning refugee problem will be given special attention within the next few days. In this regard, the problem of the [word indistinct] and their compensation as demanded by both sides will surely be the bone of contention between the two countries, which will require not only the greatest negotiation effort but also compromise. In other words, in reality, this reestablishment of diplomatic relations (?is, without the least doubt), a prerequisite of crucial importance. At any rate, the acuteness of the problems that remain to be resolved also justifies the creation of (?interstate) structures charged with overseeing the implementation of the decisions already agreed upon.

#### Communique Issued

*AB2304212092 Nouakchott ORTM Radio in French  
1930 GMT 23 Apr 92*

[Communique issued simultaneously in Dakar and Nouakchott on the resumption of diplomatic relations and other services—signed in Dakar on 22 April]

[Text] The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Government of the Republic of Senegal, considering the determination of the two heads of state, their excellencies President Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya and Abdou Diouf, to continually make the necessary efforts to restore and preserve peace and security in the subregion and to improve bilateral relations in accordance with the aims and objectives of the UN and OAU Charters; being aware of the fact that the painful events that occurred in April 1989 have seriously affected the brotherly relations that have always existed between the two peoples; being determined to reestablish the atmosphere of mutual trust founded on ties of good neighborliness, solidarity, and brotherly cooperation between our two countries; and being willing to safeguard historically and geographically the precious heritage of culture and civilization between the two peoples throughout the centuries, have decided the following:

1. first of all, the immediate reestablishment of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level between the two countries;
2. the immediate resumption of air and postal links;
3. the reopening of land borders at a date and under conditions to be determined as soon as possible by the competent national administrations of the two countries;

4. the pursuit of efforts by the organ set up to maintain and consolidate the sought-after results;

In this regard the two governments emphasized their desire to see these efforts bear fruit in the shortest possible time at the end of the ongoing discussions on the relief program to benefit the concerned peoples;

5. the creation of interstate structures in charge of monitoring the implementation of the decisions already made and which will examine, in a spirit of understanding and solidarity, all questions raised by one or the

other party concerned, the solution of which would safeguard and consolidate the relations of trust between the two countries.

Signed in Dakar on 22 April 1992;

For the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Mohamed Abdrahmane Ould Moine, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation;

For the Government of the Republic of Senegal, Djibo Ka, minister of foreign affairs.

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27 APRIL 1992



general staff of the president and inspector general of the Armed Forces; and Ambassador (Babacar Thierno Sow Mbaye), diplomatic adviser to the president. [passage omitted]

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